1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and to Mr. Samuel Kekela of Ua Pou. This opportunity is taken also to thank M. Tissot of Ua Pou, MM. Berard and le Brunnec at Atu Ona, Penapena at Haka Hau (Ua Pou), M. Charles Henri at Taio Hae, and all others whose courtesy and interest facilitated the work.

The names of natives who gave information, and others who assisted in one way or another in the work, are too numerous to attempt even to list. To one native, however, is due more than to all the rest—Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuane. This friend should be characterized not merely as an informant but as a co-worker and fellow-student. As a boy he used to sit and listen to the talk of the old men; today he is an expert wood carver (one of a very few who remain), an accepted *tuhuna* (master) of legendary lore, genealogy, chanting. and so on, in Atu Ona, and the organizer and leader of the singing and dancing of the modern Bastile Day celebrations. Another native to whom particular thanks are due is Proiho, of Fatu Hiva, a carver and also a devotee of the fine old native culture; and still another is Tahia-ti'a-koe of Pua Ma'u, who wrote an invaluable manuscript, containing the most important sacred chants, from the dictation of her grandfather, who was a ceremonial priest, and who, with her husband, Pe'ohai, gave much important information regarding certain religious practices.

Most of the details concerning the ancient life and history contained in the following pages came from the memories of those who had themselves seen the things or customs described or who had been told of them. The first necessity for the work was found to be the learning of the native language, which is a dialect of the Polynesian. Most of my information, therefore, came direct—that is, not through the medium of an interpreter. When one is working almost entirely through the memories of informants or, worse yet, through informants who themselves are giving second-hand information, many small errors are bound to creep in. These were avoided as far as possible by continual checking up, comparison, and elimination. It should be said in this connection that the memories of natives who are interested in their own ancient ways are remarkably tenacious and, further, that Marquesans are by no means prone to invent or give false information, particularly when they recognize that their interlocutor is familiar with the culture in general. Informants were carefully chosen, and information was scrupulously weighed. I therefore feel assured that, while there may be small errors in the following account, it is in the main accurate.

The descriptions of the ancient Marquesan life as given here might lead the reader to believe that much more of the ancient culture still exists than can actually be found in the islands today. As a matter of fact only

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

115 From Haapuani I received the tales entitled "Mahuike," "Tahia-noho-uu," "Huuti and Te-moo-nieve," "Tuapuu and her children," "Te-poea-hei-o-Tona," "Tona-hei-eeee," "Kae," "Pota-a-te-mau," "Ipokino," "Kena," "Fatu-a-nono," and "Tana-oa."

To various other natives I am indebted for recital of stories as follows: to Titi-ohu of Omoa, Fatuhiva, for "Puhi" and "Tupa"; to Teretia of Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Pohu" and "Tiki the Trickster"; to Naani at Taiohae, Nukuhiva, for "Haha-poa" and "Pepe'iu"; to Vaa-taha-ani of Taaoa, Hivaoa, for "Tiu"; to Hati at Vaipaee, Uahuka, and Honeno at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Putio"; to Honeno for "Tiki-tu-ao" and the "Voyage of the Kaa-hua"; to Piiohaii at Puamau, Hivaoa, for "Aka's Voyage"; to Tehono, at Haka he Tau, Uapou, for "Vaka-uhi"; to Penapena at Haka Hau, Uapou, for "Poumaka"; to Madame Fisher at Taiohae for "Te-po-inoino"; to Hitu, at Hakahetau, Uapou, for "Koi-koi."

The interesting story of "Ono" is from a manuscript which Monseigneur David Lacadre graciously loaned me; and the valuable fragments which preserve for us hints of the exploits of the Maui brethren, and the fragment about Tu, were derived from manuscripts in possession of the Catholic Mission which I was permitted to copy.

The story of "Pua-ina-noa" was recorded by Mrs. Handy; "Aka's Voyage" by Mr. Ralph Linton; and "Tiki" and "Tohe-tika" were given me by Mr. Robert Aitken who copied them from a manuscript put into his hands in Tubuai. (See footnote p. 107.)

● 124 Here I also take especial pleasure in expressing my appreciation of the help rendered by Monsieur Guillitou of Atuona, who served me as interpreter during the first months of my studies, until, in fact, I was more or less capable of finding my own way with native texts and informants, practically none of whom spoke any French or English. It was Monsieur Gillitou who brought Haapuani to me. Others who aided me elsewhere in times of linguistic emergency were Mr. Henry Lee, at Puamau; Madame Fisher and Mrs. Sterling at Taiohae; and the Rev. Samuel Kekela, at Hakahetau.

126 In transcribing Marquesan texts—with the exception of "Mahuike"—I have, in the interests of simplicity of printing and reading, omitted glottal stops (which in Marquesan would indicate the omission of *r*, *k*, *v*, or some other letter) because, so far as the general vocabulary is concerned, these are indicated in Dordillon's[2] dictionary in a manner that will make the composi-

[2] Dordillon, Mgr. I. R., Grammaire et Dictionnaire des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904. Unfortunately the value of the section on grammar in this book is almost nullified through the author's attempt to cast Marquesan forms in Latin molds. But the vocabulary is thorough, accurate and, though many words met with in study are not to be found, it is relatively complete. In making it Monseigneur Dordillon rendered an inestimable service to Polynesian scholars of the future by leaving a dictionary in my opinion superior for scientific purposes to any of the other early dictionaries of the Polynesian languages with which I am acquainted. In my work it has been invaluable from the first day I set foot on Marquesan soil—in fact, I am not certain but that it to a large degree made possible for me the particular kind of intensive study that was pursued. It is most unfortunate that the vocabulary does not include proper names.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

we brought the first accounts here, destroyed all expectations of again seeing him; and as Mr. Maury and his party saw no other prospect of getting away, he requested me to take them on board. The man before spoken of, who came off to the ship naked, was named Wilson, an Englishman by birth. He had been for many years among the group of Marquesas, as well as the islands of Washington's Group. He spoke their language with the same facility as his own, and had become in every respect, except in colour, an Indian. The looks of Wilson had strongly prejudiced me against him; but I soon discovered him to be an inoffensive, honest, good-hearted fellow, well disposed to render every service in his power, and whose only failing was a strong attachment to rum. Wilson soon became a great favourite with me, as well as every other person. He proved indispensably necessary to us; and without his aid I should have succeeded badly on the island. His knowledge of the people, and the ease with which he spoke their language, removed all difficulties in our intercourse with them; and it must be understood, in all relations of future interviews and conversations, which took place between me and the natives, that Wilson is the organ of communication, and the means by which we are enabled to understand each other. I shall, therefore, in future, deem it unnecessary to say, I was assisted by an interpreter; it must always be understood that I had one. Such were my impressions of Wilson at the time; but I have since had occasion to be satisfied that he was a consummate hypocrite and villain.

On my jumping on shore, unaccompanied by any other persons, and walking up to a group of natives, who were assembled near the house where Mr. Maury resided, all their apprehensions seemed to cease. The women, who had retired to a distance, came down to join the male natives; and even the landing of the marines, as well as the rest of the party, did not seem to occasion any uneasiness among them. The drum appeared to give them much pleasure; and the regular movements of the marines occasioned much astonishment. They said they were spirits or beings of a class different from other men.

Observing the mountains surrounding the valley to be covered with numerous groups of natives, I inquired the cause, and was informed that a warlike tribe residing beyond the mountains had been for several weeks at war with the natives of the valley, into which they had made several incursions, destroyed many houses and plantations, and killed a great number of bread-fruit trees by girdling. I was also informed that they had intended paying another visit that day; but it was supposed they were deterred by the appearance of the ships. I directed one of them to proceed to the Happahs, and to tell them that I had come with a force

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

by a tongue about five-sixteenths of an inch wide, made of the inner layers of the bamboo, which acts upon the same principle as the reed of a clarionet. This tongue is placed just below the septum and as it has a tendency to stick, one or two hairs are often drawn across under it at the bottom. There are usually three stops, but in rare instruments four may be present. These stops are placed at equal intervals, the distances between them corresponding to the distance from the lowest stop to the bottom of the flute. The actual distances between stops vary in different flutes, but the regular spacing seems to be a constant feature. In observing the process of manufacture it was noted that the distances were measured by the width of the first two fingers of the right hand. Unlike those of nose flutes the stops of the *puakahau* were always cut (not burned) out. 534

A curious form of *puakahau* (Pl. LXXIII, *C*) for which there seems to have been no special name, was made from two pieces of bamboo one of which fitted accurately inside the other.

The larger piece, which formed the upper end of the flute, was closed, and was provided with a tongue. The stops were cut in the smaller piece. The section bearing the stops could be slid in and out, varying the pitch of the instrument. A flute of this sort was tuned to harmonize with another of ordinary type when the two were to be played together.

Some *puakahau* were made of two, or even three, pieces of bamboo which fitted together closely. Such instruments could not be tuned but they might be taken to pieces and carried in a small space.

Players of the *puakahau*, as of the nose flute, began by mastering one stop before attempting to use more. *Puakahau* are still occasionally used for dances, but in recent times have been employed principally by the men in courting. In former times there are said to have been regular *puakahau* orchestras, composed of as many as twelve men, who were trained to play together. Such orchestras took part in fetes and dances, but it is doubtful whether they were employed in religious ceremonies.

WHISTLES

Bamboo whistles are still used by the children as toys, but they agree so closely with European whistles in shape and principle that it seems doubtful whether they are aboriginal (Pl. LXXIII, *A*). [124] [177]

Whistles are made from a section of bamboo eight to twelve inches long and about one inch in diameter. The lower end is closed by the septum of the joint while the upper end is cut at a long angle and plugged with a piece of wood cut exactly like the plug in an ordinary wooden whistle. A hole is cut in the side of the bamboo just below the inner end of this plug.

The Marquesans occasionally use a hybrid wind instrument, half whistle and half flute, which the natives believe to be aboriginal, but the type appears to be very rare. The upper end of this instrument is identical with that of the whistle, but three stops, like those of the *puakahau*, are cut in the lower part of the tube. In the specimen illustrated (Pl. LXXIII, *B*), two of the three stops have been plugged with cloth.

The following names for flutes have been recorded by Handy, or compiled by him from Dordillon's Dictionary:

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine
142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development; the women are outstandingly handsome even by European
164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have developed little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the contagions introduced by the whites.

648 Although the Marquesans have been under French domina-
797 tion since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the time of my visit in 1920–22, Marquesan was already a broken
● [124] culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effective resistance which was open to them; they ceased to breed. This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated entirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137] [pp. 1–136 not processed]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MARQUESAN SOMATOLOGY WITH COMPARATIVE NOTES ON SAMOA AND TONGA

By LOUIS R. SULLIVAN
Based on the Field Studies of E. S. Craighill Handy and Willowdean C. Handy

INTRODUCTION

Acknowledgments

THE field studies which form the basis of this paper were made by E. S. Craighill Handy in conjunction with his ethnological survey of the Marquesas. In the field Mr. Handy was ably assisted by his wife, Willowdean C. Handy. Ralph Linton assisted in the photography. By arrangement between the American Museum of Natural History and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum the field notes were turned over to me for analysis and interpretation. The mathematical computations were prepared by Mrs. Lois Treadwell Ruml and my wife, Bessie P. Sullivan, who also prepared the appendix and assisted throughout the preparation of the manuscript.

The somatological studies in the Marquesas followed the plan of those already completed for Samoa[1] and Tonga.[2] In addition to the somatological records Mr. Handy supplied me with full and valuable notes on the history of the population, opportunities for intermixture with whites and Asiatics, and customs of deformation of parts of the body. I am likewise indebted to him for valuable suggestions as to possible inter-island differences in culture and physical type which made my analysis much easier. The comparative data from Samoa and Tonga were furnished by the field studies of E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern, acknowledged in previous papers.

The Population

The material submitted for study consisted of the records of 201 persons. When the admitted mixed-bloods, senile and adolescent individuals were eliminated there remained two series consisting of 84 adult men and 74 adult women. Three persons with a small amount of Hawaiian blood were included in the analysis. By nativity the individuals examined were distributed as follows: Nuku Hiva 18, Ua Huku 18, Ua Pou 47, Hiva Oa 61, Tahu Ata 2, and Fatu Hiva 12. The material was not selected and represents persons of all social classes and occupations. It may be regarded as a fair qualitative sample of the Marquesan people of today. Incidentally the 201 persons represent about 11 per cent of the total population.

[1] Sullivan, Louis R., A contribution to Samoan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 2, 1921.

[2] Sullivan, Louis R., A contribution to Tongan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 4, 1922.

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper.

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their native tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood.

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they become a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole population.

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions.

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the

/3 cont./
daily conversation of Marquesans of post-pubertal age, the appearance of a note book and pencil brings about a rapid change of the subject of conversation at best, if not a stony silence. Even the most shameless young buck will cease his bragging in this situation. There is an intense distrust of individuals who would seek to record such information, which is intensified if the intended informant believes that he will be identified by name in the notes as the source of a block of data. Close friendship with the investigator seems to be of relatively little avail in altering these attitudes on the part of the informants. 124 ● [521] 123 124

/4/ My wife collected a number of female reproductive histories from women, many of whom she had treated or advised on personal problems, but was forced to abandon attempts to obtain information of frequency of intercourse in marriage, although data on menstruation and childbirth was readily obtained.

On the other hand, direct interrogation was quite possible in certain areas bordering on sexual behavior, especially on such matters as native medical preparations, childbirth practices and postpartum care. Curiosity in these matters was tolerated and even encouraged at times.

Direct interrogation, therefore, was abandoned as a means of obtaining information of an intimate nature, but was utilized in the gathering of collateral data on subjects more or less related to the main object of investigation.

Observation of random situations provided much data on such aspects as courting, autoeroticism, etc., but the more intimate details of sexual behavior could naturally not be observed first hand.

The method whereby much of the data were obtained was made possible by the circumstances of the archeological excavations which we were carrying out. Employing large gangs of workmen, it was often necesiary to spend long periods supervising the clearing of archeological sites or restoration of the areas excavated. During the work, a steady conversation persisted among the workmen, usually revolving around sexual topics. /5/ In such a situation it was relatively easy to jot down notes on such information as was overheard in notes, as 123 521 [126]

/5 cont./
the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a [redacted] unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety.

The information obtained by these methods was cross-checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethno-medicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Maruises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent

/58 cont./

Although the male:female ratio of the total population 162
does not indicate any scarcity of females, the distribution of females over the inhabited areas is by no means even. Therefore, although a large surplus exists in one valley, a scarcity of near-absence of females may occur in an adjacent valley. Although such inequalities place strains on the day-to-day sex life of the unattached male, they do not ultimately effect his chances for marriage, however; for anyone seriously looking for a wife can move into a well-populated valley at will or [484]
make regular weekend visits.

Bestiality occurs, as a substitute for normal sexual rela- 839
tions. It is not frequent to all appearances, although the reticence of the Marquesan on matters believed to be abhorred by whites, may account for the paucity of evidence concern- [124]
ing this practice.

/59/ One report was obtained of a girl who had repeatedly used a dog as a cunnilinctor. The girl was living in an isolated area at the time the practice began, where no male sexual partners were available. Having had some sexual experience prior to this isolation, the girl experienced deprivation, as a result of which she began this practice. My informant definitely regarded this as an unusual practice, stating that he had not heard of it previously.

References to male bestial practices were made in oblique fashion on a variety of occasions. Many of these appeared in [521]
the context of general conversation about hunting expeditions or explorations of one variety or another, where men were isolated for long periods of time. In such conditions, feelings of sexual deprivation were generally said to result in a re-appraisal of the available non-human sources of sexual gratification: horses, dogs and other quadrupeds. The implication was that gratification was usually obtained by anal intercourse.

A very frequently overheard reference was that to copulation with chickens. It was stated, most commonly, that in intercourse the chicken would gyrate wildly, flapping its wings, producing a cooling breeze. This was called the "Nuku Hiva fan" by informants.

/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene.

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment.

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation.

/78/

haika mimihati	"medicine for broken urine"
ki'i'ama	skin of the candlenut (Aleurites triloba F)
ki'i kehika	skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
'aka hau	roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
'aka outi	root of Cordyline terminalis
noni vehine	fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
noni vahana	(round and square stemmed respectively)